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ABSTRACT

A review of research literature on whether Spanish bilingual, bicultural programs enhance self-concept and whether any relationship exists between enhanced self-concept and improved academic achievement also describes research problems and potential solutions. Theories of importance of self-concept as a determinant of achievement, particularly with minority/bilingual students, are briefly covered. Research findings are presented on whether self-concept improvements lead to improved achievement (result: self-concept and achievement appear so interdependent that precise relationships are difficult to distinguish) and whether bilingual programs enhance self-concept of Mexican Americans, as well as whether Mexican American students need to have their self-concepts enhanced (results: effects of bilingual programs in improving self-concept have been mixed; Mexican Americans do not have poor self-concept). Problems contributing to the mixed results are listed: lack of agreement on appropriate measures of student affect; varying definitions and measures of self-concept; differing definitions of bilingual education and lack of equivalence between bilingual programs being compared; researchers' attempts to prove qualitative affective changes by using data from short-term quantitative studies; and schools' use of a meritocracy ideology to validate maintenance of social inequality. Potential solutions are given: rediscovery of the validity and importance of qualitative research, and redirection of evaluation by recognizing differing cognitive styles. (MH)

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BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND AFFECTIVE OUTCOMES: THE PAST TEN YEARS AND THE MEXICAN AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

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Introduction

In the past fifteen years, a major shift in educational circles has occurred, due in part to the efforts of those who have struggled to provide bilingual education; a shift from being concerned solely with cognitive outcomes of the educational process to the inclusion and importance today of non-cognitive, affective outcomes (See e.g. Purkey, 1970; Yamamoto, 1972; and Zirkel, 1971). While cognitive educational goals are still important to parents and educators, the feelings students have about themself, their family, their school and their community have become equally as important. The National Symposium for Professors of Educational Research (1976) suggests non-cognitive goals be considered a critical component in discussions of equal educational opportunity and educational adequacy. The importance of affective outcomes today is reflected in educational literature and Congressional legislation concerning the disadvantaged and members of racial/ethnic minorities (Fantini and Weinstein, 1968; Marston, 1968; Zirkel, 1971). Affective outcomes have been "prescribed and described for virtually all programs for the disadvantaged" (Shavelson, 1976). With respect to bilingual programs for Spanish speakers, Seelye writes that affective outcomes are especially important (1978:213). He suggests the ability of bilingual, bicultural persons to function effectively in a bicultural manner is enhanced to the degree that non-cognitive outcomes of the educational process are given equal consideration to cognitive ones.

Many of those who have been associated in various ways with bilingual, bicultural Spanish programs, have reported such efforts have produced significant results in the ways in which students feel about themselves, their family, and their cultural heritage (Ramierez, 1974a; Felice, 1977;

Carter, 1979). The inclusion of Mexican and Mexican American heritage and Spanish language in bilingual, bicultural education, "emphasizes the basic right of the child to develop and maintain an identity based on the socialization experiences of his childhood . . . (while) . . . introducing the child to values and lifestyles with which he is initially unfamiliar" (Ramirez, 1974a). According to Ramirez (1974a), the goal of such an education is to allow the individual to function in either cultural and social setting. Other researchers have not been able to validate these findings. Research into the effects of bilingual education for non-cognitive outcomes has produced results which are mixed and confusing (Ligon, 1977). Obviously, we are not close to maximizing affective growth outcomes for public school students. The state of the art, if you will, is chaotic. Much is believed, little has been demonstrated, but bright glimmers are now on the horizon. In this paper, four areas are considered to develop the topic, "Bilingual Education and Affective Outcomes": 1) theory--why affective measures are important; 2) research--what research findings support; 3) problems--why we appear to know so little; 4) solutions--glimmers of light offering potential solutions.

Theory

A large number of affective outcomes that might be of interest to educators, include feelings, emotions, attitudes, motivation, values, personality, self-esteem and self-concept. Self-esteem and self-concept are among the few outcomes considered most often in research. The reason for this is probably due to the long established position of self-concept which over the years has become a part of psychological, sociological and educational theory. Whether one follows the analyses of Cooley, Mead or Freud, there is

primary agreement that self-concept is a social product, that it is learned or acquired through group participation and social interaction (Koller and Ritchie, 1978:185). The relationship between self-concept and social motivation has been explored in depth (Yamamoto, 1972). Depending on one's self-concept, there is either willingness or reluctance to exert effort to reach socially approved goals (Koller and Ritchie, 1978). Self-concept (including self-esteem and self-perception) has received the greatest consideration as an affective measure for two reasons: 1) it is important in and of itself, feelings are an important outcome of the education process; and 2) it is held to be an energizing or debilitating motivational factor, important in its effects.

As proposed by Cooley and Mead, self-concept is developed during the stage of primary socialization in which the child internalizes the world of family members as his world. Yamamoto (1972:138) has called attention to the "bruised self" in which psychic wounds occur due to negative treatment by significant others. Social scientists have used the notion of self-concept (Hansen and Maynard, 1973) to suggest unequal societal treatment of racial/ethnic and religious minorities results in damage to the personalities of minority group children. When a minority child is subjected to rejection, isolation and disapproval based on minority group position by members of the majority group, the result is described as self-hatred, self-derogation and self-deprecation (See the treatment of this topic by Carter, 1979:105-119). For this reason, interest in affective outcomes, especially self-concept, has occupied a major part of a variety of compensatory educational programs for the disadvantaged.

The role of self-concept is viewed as of critical importance for the bilingual child. Christian (1976) suggests that when a written language (especially that used in the school) is not associated with a child's home language, a greater than normal differential between the functions of the significant other and the generalized other in the development and formation of the self-concept will occur. When the bilingual child reaches school, a basic process of attack, destroyal and reconstruction of the self begins, with collective in-group negations applied to the child because of his out-group membership (Christian, 1976). The effects of such experiences for the self-concept are described by several researchers (Carter, 1968; Hansen and Maynard, 1973; Koller and Ritchie, 1978). The difficulties involved in integrating socialization attempts from two cultures and the importance therefore, of special attention to affective outcomes such as self-concept development has been identified and described by Ramirez (1974b) and Seelye (1978). Both authors have developed training and sensitizing materials for teachers in bilingual settings, although they differ in the degree to which they hold cultural pluralism as a viable option for the bilingual, bicultural individual. Regardless, the importance of self-concept is underscored. Understandably, the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII, ESEA) was written with one of its main objectives as the development of positive self-concepts in students as well as pride in the dual linguistic and cultural heritages.

The importance of self-concept as a determinant of achievement, school performance and subsequent occupational success is well established in the literature. The contemporary practice of viewing self-concept as a moderating variables for cognitive outcomes was popularized by the Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey (1966). Coleman utilized self-concept as the

linkage to explain the effects of family background on student achievement performance. The EEOS (1966:319) reports self-concept and sense of control of environment exert a strong effect on achievement performance. Katz (1968:57-58) in a review of literature on the effects of school integration on academic performance and Pettigrew (1971) in a study of racial equality and school desegregation, separately conclude minority student achievement will increase with school integration because integrated settings provide new comparison levels and interaction levels for minority student self-concept development. The theoretical perspective of these studies, a perspective reflected in most compensatory programs, is that the first step in cognitive function improvement is to enhance or improve the student's self-concept. If the child is provided a pleasant, conducive learning environment and feels good about himself, then the desire and ability to learn are enhanced. For Mexican American students Ramirez succinctly states," improved academic achievement in Mexican American children has been shown to result from enhancing self-esteem through inclusion of Hispanic culture and Spanish in the curriculum (1974b:103). Just as with other racial/ethnic minorities, self-concept enhancement of Mexican American students should lead to improved achievement performance and bilingual, bicultural educational programs are seen as the means to enhance self-concept.

Research

Findings from a variety of research studies are presented in this part of the paper to indicate the state of the art with respect to affective outcomes. Research findings are presented in two areas: first, to answer the question of whether self-concept improvements lead to improved achievement;

second, to answer the question of whether bilingual programs enhance the self-concepts of Mexican Americans.

Positive research findings for the relationship between self-concept change and achievement change have been reported by several researchers (Aspy and Buhler, 1975; Campbell, 1967; Caplin, 1969; Evans and Anderson, 1973; Felice, 1973, 1974; Lewis and Adank, 1975; Ozehosky and Clark, 1970; Primavera, Simon and Primavera, 1974; Ramirez, Herold and Cox, 1972; Wattenberg and Wattenberg, 1964). Evidence from early studies provided a rationale for the massive federal intervention programs of the 1960's in War on Poverty programs such as Head Start, Follow Through and Upward Bound. The strength of the relationship between self-concept change and achievement improvement varies in these studies which show positive effects. Millard (1978) finds the relationship between scholastic success and self-image to be strong. For Mexican American students the results are more mixed. Moderate positive findings are reported by Felice (1973), Ramirez (1972) and Rivera (1973). Weak or non-existant relationships are reported by Allen (1972) and Evans and Anderson (1973). Blattstein (1978) suggests the reason for such variation in findings is that self-concept only indirectly exerts an effect on achievement, with its direct effect on coping skills. Other explanations include that by Calsyn (1974) who, in a cross-lagged panel reanalysis of Brookovers' (1964) data, evaluated the causal relationship between self-esteem and school achievement, and concluded that instead of self-concept appearing to have caused achievement, achievement change appeared to determine self-concept change. Calsyn suggested that if the purpose of an educational program is to increase achievement performance, direct teaching for achievement is more effective than the attempt to enhance self-concept.

Because of such mixed research findings and related methodological problems, Scheirer and Kraut (1979) critically reviewed over 26 studies which met their rigorous inclusion criteria of having both pre-test and post-test achievement and self-concept measures, having a control group, and having an intervention program designed to increase academic achievement. The focus of this extensive review was to determine whether it is possible to increase academic achievement through self-concept change. Most of the interventions they reviewed produced some effects either on self-concept or achievement (1979:139). Interestingly, however, no intervention produced changes in self-concept and achievement. Thus, there were no cases in which changes in achievement were unambiguously associated with changes in self-concept. Interpreting these results, Scheirer and Kraut rejected several theoretical models, including the reference group model used in many compensatory programs; a model which focuses on enhancing a child's image of his group in American society. Their conclusion is that self-concept change is likely to be an outcome of increased school achievement with social approval, rather than an intervening variable necessary for achievement improvement to occur. Our appraisal of the literature is that self-concept change does not appear to be necessary for achievement change. It may be a sufficient condition to produce achievement change, but does not appear to be a necessary condition. The relationship between self-concept and achievement may be coextensive and/or interdependent to such an extent, that it is difficult to tease out the precise relationship. More will be said about this later.

We turn to consider research reporting on the degree to which bilingual programs enhance self-concept. Even if self-concept is not a necessary

condition for positive achievement change, it is important in and of itself. A child's feelings about himself, his family and his cultural heritage are an important outcome for evaluators of the educational system. A number of studies have reported finding self-concept improvement among participants in bilingual, bicultural programs. Levy (1978) finds the acquisition of positive self-concept related to bilingual education in a multicultural pre-school setting. Teacher's attitudes and behavior appear to be an important part of the process of self-concept enhancement. Other positive results are reported by Harrison in San Antonio (1976) and in San Marcos (1979). Stansfield and Hansen (1979) in an evaluation of 28 state-funded bilingual educational programs in Colorado report positive self-concept gain and positive attitudes toward school gains among Mexican American children. Data also indicate that extensive parental involvement may be related to self-concept gains.

Other studies may be cited, however, which report bilingual programs do not necessarily enhance self-concept. Ortiz (1979) attempted to identify the degree to which inferior self-concept contributed to inadequate school performance of Mexican Americans. Collecting survey data from over 300 bilingual programs, Ortiz selected the most representative of Title VII sites for classroom observations. Data indicated the reasons for no changes in self-concept were due to teacher's practices. In 1972, the Edgewood School District in San Antonio initiated its "compatible education program" in which it attempted to eliminate incompatibilities between "Mexican American affective characteristics" and the school instructional programs. After 4 years of the experiment, Cervantes and Bernal (1975) concluded that not only was there no correlation between affective and cognitive measures, but overall

there was no improvement in the life chances of Mexican American students through any increase in either affective or cognitive domains. Students who did not participate in the experimental program but went to similar schools were not significantly different. Lee (1974;1975) evaluating a 2-year ESEA pilot project reported the curious finding that students in the bilingual project actually declined in self-concept, while their attitudes toward school became more positive. Students in the control group showed opposite trends--self-concept and achievement improvement--although their attitude toward school became more negative. In 1977, the American Institute for Research reported its effort for the federal government to study the effectiveness of federally funded bilingual educational programs. Projects selected for evaluation were Title VII Spanish/English bilingual projects in either the 4th or 5th year of funding in 1975. Conclusions from the review were generally negative, with participation in bilingual programs showing no results on affective or attitudinal outcomes (American Institute for Research, 1977). For those students who did experience positive school attitude changes, teacher characteristics were unrelated. The most significant variable related to affective changes for bilingual students was the degree to which classroom aides relied on non-classroom use of Spanish. In grades 2, 4, and 5, aide non-classroom use of Spanish appeared to be quite significantly associated with gains in attitude toward school.

Summarizing a decade of efforts to improve the academic performance of Mexican Americans, efforts to both compensate/remedy and to substantially modify institutional programs, Carter (1979) writes that compensatory and remedial programs have failed. He sees no evidence that compensatory or

comprehensive treatment programs have improved either cognitive or non-cognitive outcomes for Mexican Americans.

At this point, the question of whether Mexican American students need to have their self-concepts enhanced should be addressed. Some of the older studies indicated such efforts were necessary (Heller, 1966; Kluckhohn and Strodbeck, 1961). More recent investigations have failed to turn up the reported poor self-concepts of Mexican Americans (Carter, 1979). The Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey (Coleman, 1966) did show Mexican American students to be slightly more self-deprecating than others, but both the Coleman study and later reanalysis by Mayeske (1973) used culture specific items to measure self-concept and attitude toward life. According to their measures, students with good attitudes toward life were those who believed, among other things, that they would not encounter many obstacles when they try to get ahead, that with a good education they will not have any difficulty in getting a job, and that people who are able to accept their situation in life are not necessarily happier. Such items do not really measure attitude toward life but degree of assimilation and acculturation. A student from a culture that does not hold such values would appear on this measure to lack ambition, be apathetic and unmotivated. LaBelle (1969) reports no significant differences in school attitudes between Spanish and anglo fifth graders. De Blassie and Healy (1970) find more positive self-concept among Spanish American children than among black or anglo children. In their evaluation of the Edgewood School District Plan, Cervantes and Bernal (1976:43) report that Mexican American students scored at or above the norm in self-concept. Albright (1974) also reports no significant variance in self-concept scores between Mexican American pupils

in bilingual programs and those in monolingual programs. Carter's contention is that, "most Chicano children, rather than being harmed by school are bored by the school. Despite the projected image of derogation and failure, the average Chicano maintains a positive self-view . . . reinforced by reliance on family, peers and the immediate community" (1979:113). Carter and others leave one with the strong impression that the "reported negative Mexican American self-concept" was actually a "blame the victim" attempt and represented much more of an excuse for the failure of the educational institution than a scientifically demonstrated reality. The effort in the past to build self-concept improvement into bilingual education programs may have flushed this out.

In our review of research studies concerning whether bilingual programs enhance student self-concept, we are unable to draw any firm conclusions. Why do we know so little? Why is it that we cannot find what many feel to be true from first-hand experience? What is the problem that we have so little empirical support for the efforts of educators to utilize bilingual, bicultural education to enhance affective and cognitive outcomes?

Problems

There appear to be a variety of reasons that contemporary scientific research has not provided strong, consistant evidence that bilingual, bicultural programs enhance self-concept and promote academic achievement. Several of these reasons have to do with conceptual and operational definitions, i.e., problems of validity and measurement. The first reason research findings have provided so little support for bilingual programs centers on the lack of agreement as to what the appropriate measures of student affect are. The National Symposium for Professors of Educational

Research (1976) concluded there was little agreement on what the affective domain is, with many educators, psychologists and other social scientists "not talking about the same phenomena". The conference suggested that the many recent measures of different types of affect indicate that social scientists are not close to either an agreement on the meaning of the concept or on how to measure it. Beatty (1976) suggests that we have only begun to utilize possible affective outcomes in educational research and evaluation. In addition to self-concept, and perhaps in place of it, Beatty suggests we consider the ability to cope, the ability of students to express themselves, and the ability to make autonomous choices.

The lack of agreement with respect to affective outcomes generally, applies to the variety of definitions and measures of self-concept specifically. Definitions of self-concept tend to be imprecise and vary from one study to another, including such variations as social self-concept, physical self-concept, emotional self-concept and academic self-concept. One cannot specify either the population of self-concept items from which a sample of items might be drawn for an instrument or specify the population of subjects for which the measure would be appropriate. There is almost no data on the equivalence of the different published measures of self-concept that are used. In short, the validity of various measures and scales has not been established. Shavelson (1976) in a comprehensive review of 5 major self-concept measures utilized the methodology of construct validation to suggest logical and empirical techniques to examine the validity of the interpretations of self-concept measures, "but this degree of standardization of definition, instrumentation and interpretation has not yet been achieved (Shavelson, 1976:436-437).

Another major problem with the research concerns the definition of what bilingual education is, what programs should be included as bilingual and whether different types of programs should be evaluated together. Fishman (1978) identifies at least three major bilingual programs: compensatory/transitional; language maintenance; and enrichment bilingual education. Gonzalez (1978) documents the rich variety of goals associated with different, and at times even the same bilingual program. Gonzalez identifies seven strategies utilized in various bilingual programs, strategies that orient actors in different patterns of interaction, leading to the emphasis of different goals. They include compensatory/remedial, aesthetic enrichment, civil libertarian, pedagogical human development, cultural assertiveness, cultural pluralism, and pragmatic international, work related. As Cardenas, Bernal and Kean (1976) indicate, some schools do not have a clear strategy when they begin bilingual programs; others shift from one goal to another; still others have more than one strategy. Then, of course, there are the regional differences in bilingual strategy, for example, the more political orientation of bilingual education on the West Coast (Costley-Oyervides, 1980). The difference in goals and the incompatibility of goals and strategies of different bilingual programs is underscored by Gaarder (1978) who sees this as a reason why the evaluation of the effectiveness of bilingual education is inconsistent and inconclusive. Gaarder concludes that a collective, national evaluation of the variety of bilingual programs may be impossible. Carter (1979) while equally cautious about collective evaluations, suggests that each program be considered and evaluated in terms of its own goals, strategies and context. Carter is optimistic that the results of such evaluations will show improvement in measures

of school achievement, in school holding power, in ethnic relations and in community participation (Carter, 1979:369).

Another problem that has produced such inconclusive findings has to do with the type of research most commonly used to test hypotheses and evaluate programs. Partly because of excesses of poor quality research in the past, partly because of the current popularity of quantitative methods, many researchers attempt to prove qualitative affective change by relying on quantitative 'number-crunching'. There is no possible way that evaluators can go into a school, spend 60 minutes giving a pencil and paper test (some self-concept inventory) and in that hour of socially constructed reality, take those frozen in time responses and claim they validly represent as rich, dynamic and complex a reality as how a person really feels about himself. Even if such a possibility existed, the forces that maintain and change self-perceptions, that interactive network of significant others, is constantly changing, constantly in flux, dynamically creating and recreating new relationships. Even if we could quantitatively measure self-concept, it would be qualitatively different the next day. Our research tools, specifically quantitative methodology and techniques, are only crude devices to understand human behavior. To go around our social community and attempt to measure it with straight lines (linear regression) is a first step, but little in the world occurs in straight lines. According to Einstein, space itself is curved. It is rather presumptious to evaluate the effects of a bilingual program, especially its affective outcomes, with straight lines, and when no results are found claim the program does not work.

The final problem with the lack of conclusive findings from research concerns the institution in which and through which efforts at bilingual

education have been made. Perhaps educators have too readily accepted Horace Mann's dream of the common public school, a social invention, as the great equalizer of the conditions and inequalities of men. Mann believed that within the common public school, children from all religions and social classes would share a common education in which basic social conflicts would disappear. While many have labored faithfully in public education hoping it would be the great institution of liberation, some have overlooked the potential of this institution for oppression. It is exactly such a charge that is made by inference by Carter (1979), and more directly by Bowles and Gintis (1976). The argument put forward by Bowles and Gintis reverses the idea of the school as an institution of mobility, the great equalizer, to the idea of the school as the means by which family position becomes duplicated in society. According to this position, the public school is the institution that guarantees upper class children get upper class positions and lower class children get lower class jobs, and it is done in such a manner (i.e., meritocratically) that any blame for lack of mobility is placed in the child (in terms of his achievement, ability and motivation). The school uses a meritocratic ideology to validate its maintenance of social inequality.

While most educators will not be tending their resignations because of the Bowles and Gintis argument, it is incumbent upon all connected with the educational enterprise to be especially conscious of and sensitive to the latent effects of institutions and organizations, which while set up to achieve one purpose may, simultaneously, latently work in exactly the other direction. Public education will reach its goals only to the extent that all are vigilant to keep it moving in the proper direction.

Solutions

Theoretically, affective outcomes are important both in and of themselves and for their potential contribution to other outcomes. Due to a number of methodological problems, research findings about affective outcomes is inconclusive. Practitioners believe bilingual education to be beneficial from personal experience but such beliefs have not been validated by social science research.

One potential for future development is the rediscovery of the validity and importance of qualitative research. In graduate schools today there is a renewed emphasis on holistic, qualitative, field research methodology. This type of research necessitates the researcher live with and participate with the subjects of the study as he/she observes and evaluates their social interaction. Ethnographic studies such as the one reported by Meadowcroft and Foley (1978) are an approximation of this type of research. Meadowcroft and Foley studied a small community of 5000 for a period of 15 months. As Lofland (1971) suggests, it is only in the field, inmeshed in the interactive network of one's subjects, that one "takes the role of the other and attempts to holistically assess the life situation of the other as the other conceives it". Commenting on the renewed interest in qualitative field research, Douglas (1976:6) writes:

> All worldly truth rests ultimately on direct individual experience. There is no escape from this iron-clad fact of the human condition, and it is a truth which must be kept constantly in mind and must form the basis of all social research, as well as of all worldly, practical human endeavor. This does not mean our direct human experience is never wrong; it does mean that when it is wrong we have decided so on the basis of further or additional direct experience, which may include the independent evidence given by other individuals on the basis of their direct experience. . . . Objectivity, or the independently retested and shared forms of truth, is necessarily based on individual subjectivity.

The potential for this type of direct experience, field intensive, qualitative research to evaluate the effects of social arrangements in the community holds great promise for those concerned with the outcomes of bilingual, bicultural education. In this type of research we move not only to community involvement in the educational process, but to community based research evaluation. This is a much more democratic approach than the more elitist, quantitatively oriented, evaluation specialist brought in to measure program effectiveness.

The other glimmer on the horizon is the redirection of interest and concern brought about through the work of Ramirez and Castaneda (1974a; 1974b). Beginning with the idea that cultural groups develop different cognitive styles, different ways of perceiving, organizing, acting and reacting to reality, they have developed a theory of socialization which details ways in which culturally affective material becomes translated into cognitive style and behavior. If what they argue is true, much time has been lost in the past attempt to educate for achievement and self-concept growth with techniques and instruments that were insensitive to the biccgnitive person. Because researchers were not aware of the field dependent and field independent cognitive styles, efforts to measure and evaluate progress were futile. With the rich, suggestive directions for work suggested by Ramirez and Castaneda and the new direction for research being generated in qualitative methods, the long awaited possibility for evaluating the effects of bilingual educational programs on affective outcomes may be near. The introduction of culturally democratic environments in the schools might be the beginning of a new movement in education which is successful in bringing about equality of educational and social opportunity through the development and support of cultural pluralism.

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